



## **Towards Collaborative Governance: The Case of Pakistan**

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### **1. Introduction**

In the last few decades collaborative governance has emerged as a strategy to achieve good governance. The concept of good governance is based on universally accepted values such as participation, accountability, transparency, political and social rights and civil liberties. The assertion of citizen's rights and responsiveness of public agencies has led to the efforts of moving decision making closer to the people. This has given considerable strength to the concept of collaborative governance, which brings public and private stakeholders together in common forums where they engage in consensus-oriented decision making.

For developing countries like Pakistan, the concept of collaborative governance holds great importance as it is a country where governance issues loom large. A sweep of its history reveals that the political instability, oligarchic mindset, clientelist policy making and lack of civic sense among people has hampered its evolution towards modern governance. The public sector has failed in providing efficient public service resulting in a low human and social development. Citizens feel



alienated from the state and despite being aware of their rights and duties; they lack actions to assert their rights. Incompetence and corruption of public entities has developed feelings of powerlessness and estrangement among people and it has impeded the development of links between people and the state. Citizens show consistent dissatisfaction with government services. The Social Audit of Local Governance and Delivery of Public Services in Pakistan conducted by UNDP notes:

there is a mismatch between citizens' perceptions and those of government functionaries about which services are deteriorating. It can therefore, also be concluded that this mismatch must be resulting in allocation of funds and administrative effort in sectors which are less important for consumers of public services, namely citizens, but more important in the opinion of decision-maker. (UNDP 2012)

The inefficiency of governments in providing adequate public services led many non-state service providers to fill in gap. The country is replete with examples where many voluntary organisations have played a major role in providing public services and working for social welfare. The Edhi Foundation, The Citizens Foundation, Cheepa Welfare Association, Youth Engagement Service, Aurat Foundation are to name a few. However, most of these organisations operate independently of government often working parallel to or in competition with public providers. The scope and impact of these organisations therefore remains limited. Furthermore, when the role of government is replaced by non-state entities, the citizens' trust in the government institutions continues to wane, their legitimacy is questioned and the gulf between the state and the people remains wide. These problems call for increased participation of citizens in governmental decision making.

The concept of 'collaborative governance' in Pakistan gained momentum in 2000 when The Millennium Development Goals, set by United Nations and other international agencies were a major motive. It was widely promoted by international donors and acknowledged, in principle, by governments and many NGOs in an attempt to further the aim of The Millennium Development Goals (Bano 2008). Many profit and non-profit organisations have collaborated with government in a service delivery framework provision of fundamental services to citizens. The services that have seen most collaborative action include education, health and other aspects related to social welfare. Government commitment to partnership



with NGOs and the private sector gained further emphasis due to donor influence and was later consolidated under military government. In the recent past however the country has seen a sustained civilian democratic government. The elections held in 2008 have been termed as the rebirth of democracy in Pakistan, and since then in 2013 and later in 2018 one civilian government passed on power to the other, without any direct interference from the military. In the book *Investing in democracy: engaging citizens in collaborative governance* Carmen Sirianni makes a case for the democratic potential of Collaborative Governance. He argues that government supported initiatives of involving citizens in co-production of public goods, in decision making of policy, in planning of service provision, citizens learn democratic practices. They become more aware of the trade-offs of policies, develop the capacity to reach a common ground in situations of opposing interests and come in contact with unfamiliar groups (Sirianni 2009).

In Pakistan, most of the initiatives of collaborative governance, especially those taken under the local government structures were carried out by the military regimes. Decentralisation of power is an important prerequisite of allowing greater citizen involvement in governance. Unfortunately, the devolution of power in Pakistan was mostly carried under the military rule and the democratically elected governments have unwelcomed autonomous local governments. Following the *18th Amendment* passed in 2010, the provincial governments were given greater powers in service provision. They were also required to further devolve service provision and decision making to local governments to the local bodies under the section 140-A. This however was not fully achieved, and the local government acts adopted by the provinces by 2013 did not effectively empower the Local Governments (SPDC 2016). The elections were held in 2015 and by 2019 the terms of these governments are expiring. In this conjecture, the policies adopted by the provincial governments, particularly for the system of local governance, and consequent measures for collaborative governance will be consequential for the sustenance of democracy and an efficient governance.

This paper explores the efforts in Pakistan to move towards collaborative governance in recent past. It begins by a brief conceptual analysis of the term 'Collaborative Governance' and how it is employed in the paper. This is followed by a study of the various initiatives taken by the government to bring decision making closer to the people. The data



used in this study is based on the 2010 *Local Government Act* and the other collaborative governance initiatives taken since 2000. At this point this analysis is useful because despite the 18th Amendment there is still no clear vision of local government in Pakistan. A *Public-Private Partnership Authority Act* has been introduced in 2017, however this has only resulted in large scale infrastructure projects that didn't involve much citizen engagement (Fahim Ullah 2017). A retrospective critical analysis of policies can help guide future policy initiatives that bring governance closer to the people. Based on the analysis I develop a Framework of Collaborative Governance in Pakistan and conclude with some practical recommendations which can help bring governments closer to the people.

### *1.1 The concept of collaborative governance*

A lot of literature has been dedicated to explaining the concept and defining the term 'Collaborative Governance'. The literature however is clear about the fact that the term is very wide and defining it narrowly, runs the risk of obscurity and marginal relevance (Donahue 2004). The variations in the scope and scale of the concept therefore make it amorphous and hence difficult to categorise. However, a broad and integrated framework has been proposed by Emerson, Nabatchi and Stephen (Emerson 2011) which includes collaborative public management, hybrid sectoral arrangements, multi-partner governance, joined-up or network government, participatory governance, co-management regimes and civic engagement, all of which share common characteristics with collaborative governance. They define it as:

The processes and structures of public policy decision making and management that engage people constructively across the boundaries of public agencies, levels of government, and/or the public, private and civic spheres in order to carry out a public purpose that could not otherwise be accomplished. (Emerson 2011)

This definition includes all the tiers of the government, and also the spheres of civic engagement at the very ground level. It suits my study well, because the cases I have chosen for the purpose of this study relate to the local government, the provincial government and the role of grass root bureaucracy in carrying out collaborative governance initiatives. Additionally, this definition proposes a framework which includes different components of collaborative governance and hence allows the analysis of



the initiatives to be studied in a broader frame which they call Collaborative Governance Regimes (CGRs). The CGR includes both the collaborative dynamics and collaborative actions, hence it incorporates the analysis of the actions as well as the context in which those actions emerge. This is the framework which I am using to study the various initiatives in Pakistan. In the discussion that follows I explore Collaborative Governance Regimes in Pakistan and examine the dynamics and actions of collaborative processes. My goal is to use two forms of CGRs to explore how collaborative governance processes unfold in action, and consequently develop a framework of CGR for Pakistan. The first is the case of 'Citizen Community Boards' which involve direct citizen engagement with the local government. The second is an analysis of some co-management regimes with 'government and non-state actor partnerships' in service provision.

## **2. Cases of collaborative governance regimes in Pakistan**

The proponents of CGR framework argue that Collaborative Governance unfolds within a system context which include political, social, legal, economic and other influences. Emerging from this system are; drivers, which generate energy and direction for CGRs. Once a CGR has been initiated, collaborative dynamics and its three components are set in motion. These components principled engagement, shared motivation, and capacity for joint action interact over time synergistically and propel collaborative action by the CGR (Emerson 2011). In the discussion below I have identified the various influences in the system that drive CGR in Pakistan. I also explore the collaborative dynamics and how they propel CGRs. Consequently, the outcomes of these collaborative actions are examined and the issues that hamper success of these CGRs are highlighted.

### *2.1. Citizen community boards*

In 2001 the military regime promulgated the Local Government Ordinance which was a move towards empowerment of local communities. However, this Local Governance System faced daunting challenges in terms of capacity building, elite capture and patron-clientelist networks. The power rift between provincial bureaucracy and locally elected officials, public perception of state entities as repressive and absconding, and some



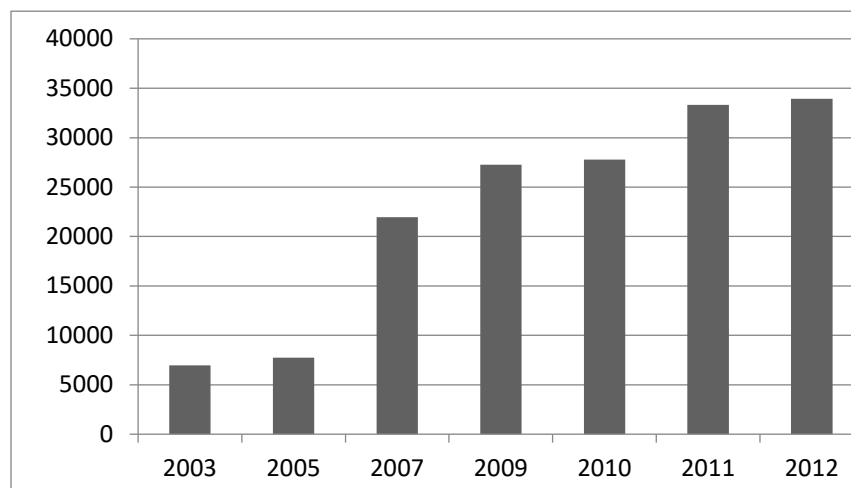
implementation flaws were major impediments in achieving the purpose of efficient service delivery and increased responsiveness.

The LGO 2001 institutionalised citizen participation through establishment of Citizen Community Boards (CCBs) in Pakistan. Under the law the citizens were invited to create CCBs that comprised of a minimum of 25 members. The CCBs in collaboration with the Local Government had the authority to undertake developmental plans like Education, Sanitation, Construction of roads etc. Citizen involvement in projects like this has the potential to allocate funds in a manner that is more responsive to the needs of people, help government improve service delivery and develop an involved citizenry that is capable of undertaking self-initiated development activity (Mansuri G. 2003). It was mandatory for CCBs to be non-profit organisations; their income and assets could only be used for attainment of their objectives. The CCBs were intended to gather together community views on human rights concerns, citizens' security and social service delivery, monitor government operations, make recommendations regarding government policies and practices, and spearhead self-help practices and projects (NRB 2002). They could implement small-scale development projects at each tier of government. It was decided that eighty per cent of the cost of the project was to be provided by the government if the CCB could raise twenty per cent through philanthropy or grants.

This effort was supported by United Nations Development Program (UNDP) through development of an ad-hoc non-governmental organisation, Devolution Trust for Community Empowerment (DTCE) which tried to ensure that people centered devolution and development could actually take place. DTCE worked to support CCBs throughout Pakistan by helping communities register the boards, trained boards in implementation of projects and developing CCB networks in the district to help them articulate their demands and emerge as organised bodies. In addition to Annual Progress Reports it issued Social Audit reports which helped assess the performance of Local Government and provided citizen's feedback. According to the annual reports of DTCE the number of registered CCBs showed a slow growth in initial period from 2003 to 2006 however due to DTCE interventions better growth was seen as shown in the graph below. (Figure 1).



**Figure 1: Citizen community boards in Pakistan**



Source: DTCE Annual Reports 2003-2012.

The results achieved through CCBs were mixed. The Baseline Survey conducted in 2002 by National Reconstruction Bureau quoted a respondent: 'CCBs are like sight given to a blind person'. In a Male focus group, Kacchi (UNDP 2002). DTCE interventions made a significant impact in creating awareness, providing technical support, promoting citizen engagement through local governments and civil society and strengthening voice for citizens and communities, ultimately allowing them to access citizen entitlement. If we combine the numerous undertakings of DTCE over the years, in excess of 4.84 million Pakistanis have directly or indirectly benefitted from these projects/programs (DTCE 2012).

The studies conducted on CCBs in Pakistan have identified four types of CCBs (Khan 2013) and (Latif 2006).

- CCBs organised by NGOs: These CCBs were either formerly working as NGOs or some NGOs registered a CCB to gather additional funds for certain projects. They usually had infrastructure, office space, technical expertise and volunteers or salaried staff. They proved efficient in projects execution because of their professional approach, however in some cases they lacked community engagement.



- CCBs organised with political affiliations: These CCBs were formed by political leaders mainly by the elected local officials (Nazim). These served to strengthen their political influence and patronage. Many CCBS were registered by the family members or business associates of the Nazims. In this kind, community participation was negligible, and accountability was highly compromised. In many cases such CCBs became active only during election season.
- CCBs organised with community involvement: These CCBs were a true representation of community engagement. All members mutually decided on project identification, raised 20 per cent community share through combined efforts and fully participated in implementation. An example of this was a village "Basti Balochan" in District "Bhattapur" where active residents registered a CCB on 18 December 2006. Through mutual consensus they identified a project that required construction of drainage pipeline and land filling of a low-lying street. The community raised 20 per cent share which was paid in varying amounts depending on their income level. Those who could not pay in cash contributed by working as labour during implementation.
- CCBs organised by philanthropist: These CCBs were formed as a result of efforts of one individual who was a prominent figure in a community. This type lacked accountability as one individual had significant discretionary authority and it also did not ensure community participation. However, there were some examples of success of this type. In "Tharmoochia" a village in "Abottabad" District a CCB was created by a man named "Manzoor Khan". The village had no water supply for the past 25 years, but through the CCB system, he was able to get a pipeline from a mountain source. From registration, organisation, contribution of the 20 per cent share and organising construction Khan took care of everything single handedly. The villagers greatly appreciated his efforts.

CCBs initiated a mechanism for interaction between government and people. However, there were many instances where this initiative fell victim to exploitation, delays, hindrances and corruption. Pakistan has limited historical experience of Community based organisation development and the objective of achieving active citizen involvement not only require tedious efforts but also cultural and societal shift. The system





although did not fully achieve its objective, was at least a move in the right direction (Marco Mezzera 2010). Below are some of the problems that were observed in achieving this objective.

The most important issue was awareness building about CCBs. Pakistan lacks the cultural tradition of democracy and people lack the ability to participate in collective decision making. The challenge for CCBs lied not only in their enhancing their exposure to people but creating networks that will proliferate citizen trust on government. DTCE took wide measures to create such networks and build awareness about CCBs. The results were slow but promising. The Social Audit Report by UNDP in 2009-10 reported:

In 2002, 3.4% male respondents and 1.5% female respondents said they had heard of CCBs. This increased to 5.8% male household respondents and 2.2% female respondents in 2004. Although a negligible proportion of males and females were members of any CCB, the awareness levels improved in 2009/10, with 7.8% respondents saying that they had heard about CCBs. (UNDP 2010)

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The marginalised communities and interest groups from both rural and urban areas had very low level of awareness of CCBs. This situation was slightly better for rural Sindh where rural interest groups had a positive experience of working with CCBs during the previous elected government system. Currently the CCBs are no more in place as the Acts adopted by the *Local Government Acts* did not reinstitute these structures. This has reestablished mistrust and public isolation. Even while these were in place their effectiveness was rather limited. The survey by UNDP "Social Audit of Local Governance and Delivery of Public Services, 2011 2012" noted that: 'A large majority of respondents (92 percent) had never heard about CCBs, and the proportion of those that had heard of them is static when compared with the last Social Audit of 2009-10.' (UNDP 2012)

Since this system was new for Pakistan, it unveiled the problems of incapability and lack of coordination. A study conducted by Japan International Cooperation Agency in 2006 noted that the number of people capable of working as effective CCB Coordinators might not be sufficient. The technical skills are lacking in the local people to prepare acceptable proposals is relevant in this context as well. Thus, a further investment in capacity building is needed. They also determined that villages in Unions (administrative unit) with higher literacy rates, with



presence of NGOs in the Union and influential persons in the village, and with less access to schools and financial institutions were more likely to be successful in forming a CCB. DTCE made endeavours in this regard, and in a period of 2004 to 2008 it had trained a total of 50,729 citizens in Project Cycle Management for CCB's. This led to 10,773 project proposals being developed and submitted to local governments (DTCE 2008).

Coordination of citizens with different government tiers and numerous authorities also posed a challenge. Maintenance of public infrastructure requires involvement of different government bodies and is a complex process. Lack of information to the citizens and coordination among public entities can cause wastage of valuable resources and exemplified in one of the projects taken up in "Samnabad" where inner city lanes were paved without building drains causing flooding of lanes during monsoon. The drains were not built because it was the responsibility of Water and Sanitation Department. They will have to be ripped off to build drains and their reconstruction will incur additional cost (Latif 2006). Proper information dissemination to citizens and active participation by the public managers in planning can help resolve such issues.

The bonding of social capital and conditions required for successful neighbourhood planning are also important in the context. Politics of patronage in Pakistan makes it difficult for poor and deserving elements of population to voice their needs and concerns. This has resulted in social relations which embody lack of trust between citizens and governments and among citizens. Studies find that inequality and social heterogeneity are detrimental to successful collective action. CCBs in Pakistan faced inequality of participation except for some rare instances, inclusion of different stakeholders was impeded by business elites, influential philanthropists, political elements and bureaucrats that did not want to share power. Some studies also noted that entire process of CCB project approval was a political bargain game. CCBs without any political or social influence are largely only an addition to the pool of CCBs, creating an impression of development activity with no real development contribution (SPDC 2006-07).

Despite the inherent structural flaws, the issues of egalitarian participation, and the inability of public managers in effectively consolidating demands and coordinate actions; CCBs offered improvement in delivery of public services by attuning them with the local



demands. Most projects undertaken by CCBs not only matched the needs of people but were also more sustainable. They offered people a chance to recognise their needs, articulate their demands. The studies of Latif and Kurosaki showed that they established structures that facilitated participation of people in local service delivery and allowed for a greater engagement of local community-based groups with government (Latif 2006; Kurosaki 2006). In the next section I include some examples of collaborative governance undertaken as partnership between state and non-state entities.

## *2.2. Non-state service providers*

Many developing countries make up for deficient service delivery by involving non-state actors in the provision of basic services. A research conducted in six countries, Nigeria, Malawi, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, found that non-state actors were the predominant providers of primary health-care, water supply and sanitation, and important providers of basic education to all sections of the population (Batley 2010).

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The partnership between public and private results in different arrangements based on the involvement of various stakeholders—the government, NGOs, CBOs, Communities, Philanthropists, religious seminaries etc. They can be multi-stakeholder involving more than two organisations and have various modalities of partnerships. There are some instances where the role of private sector is just contractual. In my discussion I have omitted such examples and the illustrations below involve 'joint activities, joint structures and shared resources' as described by Walter and Petr in their description of collaborative governance (Walter 2000).

In Pakistan, the first step in establishing formal relationships between state and Non-State Service Providers in delivery of basic social services was seen in 1992 under the Social Action Program. Although the aim was to involve Non-State Service Providers in service delivery to ensure accountability and community participation, the program did not recognise the private sector as partners. However, 1990s saw a beginning of formal recognition of the 'partnership' with NGOs and the private sector. National Rural Support Program and four provincial Rural Support Programs (RSP) were started in 1991 by the government as semi-



autonomous bodies to promote collaborative actions. These bodies help organise rural communities, develop their capital base at the local levels and link the communities with the government service delivery departments, donors, NGOs and the private sector. The RSPs refers to themselves as "facilitators" enabling the communities and other partners to maintain their relationship. These RSPs are GONGOs (Government NGOs) and due to the core funding being from the government, formal connections with the state, the large-scale outreach and better links with government officials most international donor agencies prefer to work with Rural Support Programs. Apart from RSP led efforts many other small NGOs are also working in collaboration with the government to provide efficient services to the community.

In 1990s national and provincial level education foundations, were formed with a role similar to that of RSPs. These foundations served as intermediary bodies providing technical, advisory and coordination facilities to the partners. The Education Sector Reform program was developed in 2001. The program while admitting the enormity of the challenges and weak government capacity, argued for making public private partnerships central to the reforms. The common players in these collaborative processes were Education Departments, NGOs, Community based organisations, the private sector, the corporate sector and other providers. These Public-Private Partnerships worked in various ways which included:

- Contracted management of public schools by NGOs; public financing - private provision
- Afternoon institutions system; Up-gradation of institutions through Community Participation Program in Punjab and Public-Private Collaboration in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province
- Adopt a School/School Improvement Program
- Community Schools
- Capacity Building of School Management Committees/Parents Teachers Associations/School Councils

I begin with a brief review of "Adopt-A-school Program" below is a good manifestation of Collaborative Governance Regime which involved public agencies, local NGOs and international donors.



### Adopt-a-School Program (AAS):

In 1997 AAS program was started by the Sindh Education Foundation with partner NGOs. The program implies that a non-state actor, NGO or for-profit, takes responsibility to improve the status of a government school. Sindh Education Foundation's role was that of facilitation, advocacy and technical intermediation, i) between adopters and government, and ii) between adopters and schools. In 1998 AAS program expanded to Punjab, Lahore by the Metropolitan Corporation Lahore. Later this program was incorporated as an innovative program of the Education Sector Reforms Action Plan 2001-2005 under Public Private Partnerships which was one of the seven thrust areas of the reforms plan. The exact nature of adopters' engagement with the school varies; some simply focus on improving the infrastructure while others are more concerned with improving the educational content. However, all decisions, such as identifying school to be adopted, determining school development needs, devising development plans for school, making policy level administrative changes and introducing interventions are taken mutually between the government and adopter with coordinating facilitation provided by Sindh Education Foundation (SEF 2012).

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The schools are adopted by various types of organisations; for example; "The Cooperation for Advancement Rehabilitation and Education Foundation" a Lahore based NGO has adopted over 350 schools in agreement with City District Government of Lahore. It regulates the educational processes and learning environment within these schools. Another NGO "Idara-e-Teleem-o-Aagahi runs this program in five different districts focusing on improving educational content by occasional teacher training workshops. Some donor agencies have also invested in this program. The USAID supported Pakistan Centre for Philanthropy a national level NGO to manage public-private partnership, in adopting government schools. In this program a corporate entity is asked to provide financial support to a government school while the local NGO is made responsible for implementing the program and mobilisation of the community. USAID in turn finances Pakistan Centre for Philanthropy administrative costs and those of the NGO (Bano 2008).

A study found that the students from Public-Private-Partnership schools generally outperform students from government schools and perform close to equally with students from private schools. Comparing the quality



of teachers in each of the three school types (Government, Private and Public-Private-Partnership Schools), Public-Private-Partnership schools had a larger proportion of teachers with a matriculation, intermediate and bachelor's degrees. Facilities like drinking water, boundary wall, library, playground, books in classes etc. were higher in PPP schools as compared to both, government and private schools (Amjad 2013).

In health services too Collective Governance Regimes have been highly effective. Most primary health care in Pakistan is currently functioning in the private sector through contracting out of health services. Over 71 per cent of sick or injured persons consulted private dispensary/hospitals and 22 per cent visited public dispensary/hospitals and Basic Health Units for their treatment (PSLM 2012-13). In Pakistan Basic Health Units are the First Level Health Care Facilities. In 2003 as a pilot project, Punjab Rural Support Program took over the Basic Health Units in the district of 'Rahim Yar Khan' thus introducing a new mode of governance. The entire government budget for running those Basic Health Units was handed over to Punjab Rural Support Program. The District Support Manager for Punjab Rural Support Program became the overall in-charge of the Basic Health Units coordinating with Executive District Officers, Health and other relevant district officials.

Major decisions like hiring and firing of a staff were taken mutually with Senior District Officers. This led to a growth of shared trust between the people, the staff and the government (Bano 2008). This model was replicated in Sindh, Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa by the name People's Primary HealthCare Initiative. The initiative is based on the premise that there are sufficient funds available with Government and problem lies in efficient utilisation. Therefore, there is no component of external donor funding is involved into it. PPHI has been implemented in over 60 per cent of districts in Pakistan. A study showed that in the districts where People's Primary HealthCare Initiative has been working, significant improvements have been seen in staffing, availability of drugs and equipment and physical condition of facilities, including rehabilitation and repossession of hitherto dysfunctional Basic Health Units (TRF 2012).

Similar trends are seen in the water supply and sanitation. According to the Pakistan Integrated Household Survey, 61 per cent of all water systems are self-financed by individual households (Batley 2010). The



Orangi Pilot Project is a glaring example of cooperation between government and local communities.

#### Orangi Pilot Project OPP:

Karachi is the biggest metropolitan city of Pakistan. It is estimated that over 50 per cent of Karachi's population lives in unplanned settlements or katchi abadis. Orangi is the largest katchi abadi in Karachi with a population of over 800,000. The major problem faced by these slums is poor sanitation, poorly laid drains and primitive methods of excreta disposal which led to increase in diseases and mortality. In 1980 a sociologist Dr. Akhter Khan started his research and developed a model of low-cost sanitation. The 'component-sharing model' as it came to be known, placed responsibility for building household and lane-level sanitation infrastructure (which is referred to as 'internal development') on the residents, while the government (municipal authorities) were responsible for building and maintaining secondary infrastructure including mains, disposal and treatment (known as 'external development'). This resulted in installation of sewers which served 20,000 homes housing some 200,000 people. Overtime this model was replicated, and through direct assistance to communities by Orangi Pilot Project, almost 90 per cent of Orangi's population benefitted. By 1988, it had evolved into three autonomous institutions. At present, the OPP Research and Training Institute is responsible for the low-cost sanitation, housing, and education program. The Orangi Charitable Trust runs a credit program in urban areas and the Karachi Health and Social Development Association implements the health programs. All these programs encourage community initiatives and facilitate partnerships with the government for sustainable development using local resources (Hasan 2008).

The above analysis reveals that successful Collaborative Governance Regimes in Pakistan have resulted from enduring, consistent and patient efforts by the intermediary bodies. Collaborations are of course enacted by individuals and these individuals converse about their aims and those of their partners. Situations where these individuals have a mutual understanding, come from similar backgrounds and show empathy for each other often lead to successful collaborations. Orangi Pilot Project's success primarily rested in the credibility established by its founder Dr Akhtar Hameed Khan. As former officer of the Indian Civil Service, Dr





Khan was widely known and respected inside, and outside bureaucracy circles and he played a crucial role in influencing the perceptions of senior government officials. Dr Khan delivered several lectures at National Institute for Public Administration, and this provided him with an opportunity to share Orangi Pilot Project's learning and experiences with current and future policy-makers and implementers (Hasan 2008). The success of government owned Rural Support Programs is also owed to the fact that most managers of RSP programs were former bureaucrats and they had strong linkages in the public sector. This was also noticed in my discussion of case of Citizen Community Boards where the Rural Support Program converted CCBs were the most promising because they had been exposed to a decade or more of social mobilisation and experience of engaging with the public sector. Prior experience of successful collaborations leads to a trust building environment which encourages future partnerships.

Collaborative governance requires an open attitude from the government, a task that is difficult because it requires deliberations, negotiations and sometimes even confusions. Opening up decision making is a challenging process as it blurs the boundaries between traditional roles and accountabilities. In many instances, it was noted that the government structures did not genuinely open up towards the NGOs and the Private Sector. This was also witnessed in the case of government-initiated NGOs. Batley noted that the semi-governmental agencies set up with government endowments to allocate donor funding—such as the National Trust for Population Welfare, and health and education foundations—dissipated their funds rapidly in an environment of bureaucratic malfunction and political intervention to the point that some can scarcely cover their own operating costs (Batley 2006). This problem was also witnessed in case of CCBs where the lack of interest expressed by public officials caused delays in funds allocations, and dismal registration processes. Poor internal controls and non-provision of enabling environment by the government led to a opening avenues of corruption (Khan 2013).

An independent evaluation of CCBs in five districts of Punjab (Lahore, Hafizabad, Jhang, Faisalabad, Narowal) commissioned by the Mehr Latif confirmed that the informality and flexibility required to work with community groups is lacking in public officials (Latif 2006). Similarly, in the case of Adopt a school, it has been repeatedly noted that the adopter





has been told by government officials to provide the financial resources and not intervene too much in shaping the educational content (Bano 2008). The government's main emphasis remained on viewing the NGOs and the private sector as the source of mobilising financial resources rather than a partner who should actively contribute in the design, delivery and monitoring of the public services. Economic and Social Research Council funded a research that studied nature of relationship between Punjab Rural Support Program and Ministry of health Punjab; and from interviews with several public officials the author concluded:

From the government side it seems the approach was not to bother with PRSP at all. Rather than creating problems for PRSP over small issues, the bureaucracy seemed to be working under the bigger agenda of simply getting PRSP out of the system as soon as it could be arranged. (Bano 2008)

Effective collaboration is deeply dependent upon the skills of public officials and managers. It requires strong leadership which is different from traditional and hierarchical notions of leadership and hence it requires a unique set of attributes and skills. Prior researches in studying skills of a successful collaborative public manager emphasise the importance of personality traits. Leading and managing across boundaries requires an easy and inviting personality and ability to disassociate from social, political and organisational baggage (O'Leary 2012). This is precisely the area where public managers in Pakistan have been unsuccessful. The political and social composition of the country has deep impacts on the behaviours and performance of public officials. This problem is somewhat because of the mindset of public officials. The new entrants into the civil services soon become pragmatic, politicised and conscious of power and authority that is vested in them. They consider themselves as members of an "elite governmental club". They argue that it is the society which bestows status upon them, develops unreal expectations and encourages them to behave like a person who commands authority in public perception.

This public perception plays an important role in attitude formation and influencing the conduct and behaviour of civil servants. The bureaucracy of Pakistan retains the stature of ruling class which is neither responsive of its obligations nor accountable for its actions (Saeed 1999). Many evidences of collaborations show that public managers have given a cold



shoulder to efforts of NGOs and Private Sector primarily due to the politicisation of bureaucracy. Based on the above analysis, I have developed a theoretical framework for CGRs in Pakistan and some recommendations have been offered in the following section.

### **3. Theoretical and practical implications**

Collaborative governance unfolds within an environment that is influenced by political, socioeconomic, cultural and many other factors. This environment creates opportunities and constraints; and impacts the process and performance of collaboration at the beginning and over time. This environment is the system context that generates opportunities and constraints and influences the dynamics of the collaboration at the outset and over time (Emerson Kirk 2011). Pakistan is a country where democracy has faced huge blows by intermittent military interventions. The military regime's move towards decentralisation of power to the local governments served as a contrivance to bring governments closer to people but the absence of democracy became a barrier in increasing citizen involvement. On the contrary democratic governments in Pakistan have always been unreceptive to devolution of power and have failed to achieve participatory governance and promoting democratic culture. Pakistan faces a massive challenge of overcoming the "democratic deficit" that has impeded its development and reduced service delivery capacity of government.

The lack of democratic culture, an environment of mistrust and shortage of viable institutional infrastructure are some of the barriers that impede mutual decision making. These obstacles can be reduced by the involvement of a third-party which bridges the gap between the government and communities, provides institutional support and ensures effective dialogue. In Pakistan the analysis reveals that successful collaborations have been driven by a "triad" composed of local or international intermediary body, government officials or departments, and neighbourhood groups or communities. Most collaborations are dominated by International, national, local NGOs or by influential individuals who have affiliations and access to bureaucracy. The Table below lists few examples of the major stakeholders involved in forging CGRs (see Table 1).

**Table 1: Examples of stakeholders in collaborations**

<b>Donor Agency</b>	<b>Intermediary Bodies</b>	<b>Community Groups</b>	<b>Government Bodies</b>
Government	National Rural Support Programs, Provincial Education Foundations	Local NGOs, Small Community based Organisations	Education Departments, Health Departments
International NGOs	USAID Teacher Education Project, UNDP Devolution Trust for Community Empowerment	Professional bodies, Citizen Community Boards	Higher Education Commission, Local Government
Philanthropists	Pakistan Center for Philanthropy, Orangi Charitable Trust	Local NGOs, Community Groups	Education Departments, Local Government

Source: own.

This multiple stakeholder involvement is crucial to implementation of policies and plans that evolve from collaborations as it enables wider ownership of decisions and projects. Strong plans stem from planning processes that involve a broad array of stakeholders and accompanied by greater stakeholder involvement they have significant effect on the actions of local governments (Burby 2003). It also enhances accountability mechanisms which bring the citizens on the forefront as opposed to the granting institution. The involvement of a mediating party reduces the bias in favour of citizens of higher socio-economic status. As seen in case of CCBs, Devolution Trust for Community Empowerment's interventions helped mobilise marginalised factions of society by providing them training and facilitation.

The three partners that exist in the system context of Pakistan contribute to the process of collaboration with their skills and resources. The Collaborative Governance Regime begins with drivers which include

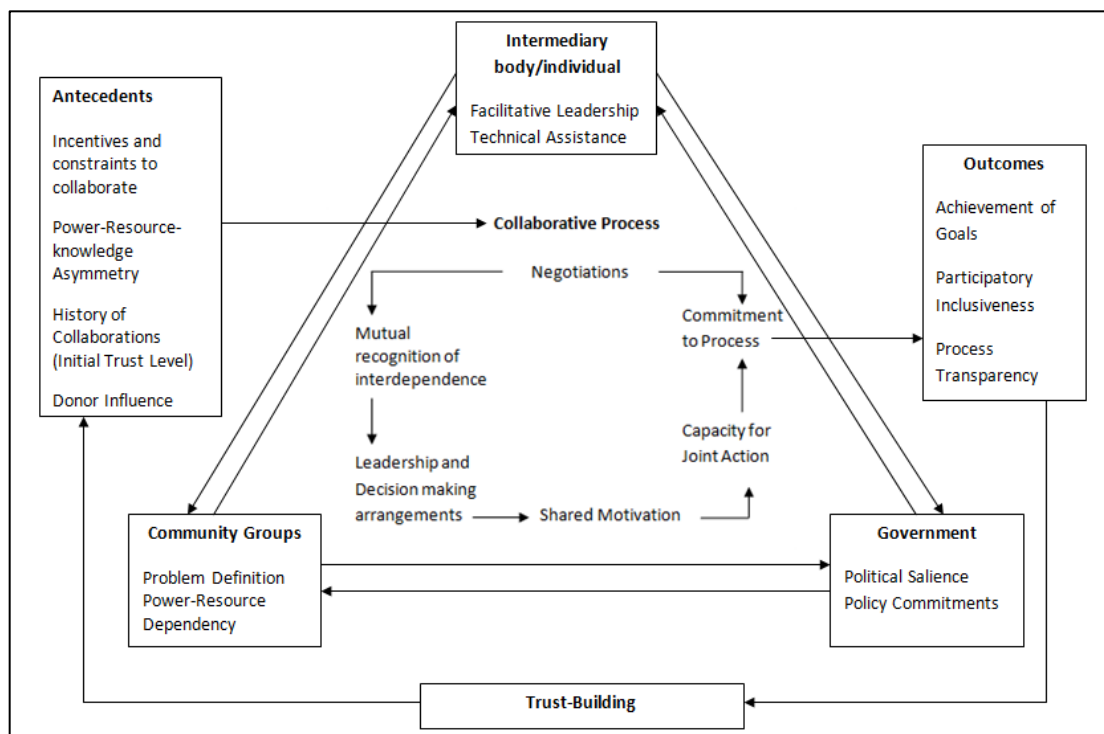


previous experience of collaborations, an understanding of constraints and incentives and a knowledge of power and resource imbalance among the partners involved. Influence of donors is a significant driver in case of CGRs in Pakistan as it gives momentum and direction to the process. The intermediary body provides technical assistance and facilitative leadership whereas the communities are motivated by their needs and resource dependencies. They are better suited to identify problems and necessities. State actors bring in their policy commitments and political benefits to the collaborative process. Citizen participation in policy making serves as a successful political bargain. Dialogues, negotiations and deliberations among the three stake holders initiate a collaborative process that involves mutual recognition of dependence, and leadership and institutional arrangements. Shared motivation and capacity for joint action can ultimately result in the commitment to process that eventually leads to beneficial outcomes that include inclusive management, transparency and achievement of goals.

Successful collaborative processes are consequential in building trust between the government and community and result in relationships and affiliations that facilitate further collaborations. This framework helps us understand the dynamics and partners that propel collaborative governance regimes in Pakistan. The Figure below gives a visual manifestation of the key aspects of CGRs and the parties involved.

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**Figure 2: Framework for collaborative governance in**



Source: Own.



## Pakistan

The overall governance and management are critical to the successful design and implementation of CGRs. Transparency and participation are crucial to development, as policies can produce sustainable results on the long run, only, if they are accepted by the people and consistent with the shared values and culture. A symbiotic relationship among citizens, government, and civil society is imperative for the development of a stable democracy. In my analysis of the cases of CGRs I have identified some barriers and obstacles to collaborative governance. What can be viable solutions as we attempt to overcome these barriers?

First, public managers need to be skilled in developing negotiation and conflict management and depoliticised. Political influence is highly pronounced in bureaucracy of the country. Collaborative processes require a unique set of skills and traits from public managers. They must be empathetic, develop close relationship, treat others as equals and demonstrate enthusiasm in connecting personal effort with larger outcomes. These traits are either missing in civil servants or are badly shattered by political influences or peer pressure. The bureaucracy is also prone to serve the interest of rich as it has no incentive to benefit the poor as they are outside the bureaucratic coalition of interests. A poor man has little access to higher echelons of government hence his suggestions are rarely heard. Political influence is highly pronounced in bureaucracy of the country. Bureaucracy is primarily responsible for transforming public demands into actions and policies. In addition to failing in service provision the bureaucracy has also showed dismal performance in promoting collaborations. There is a need to convert the hierarchical mindset of bureaucracy to a collaborative one and insulate it from political influences.

Second, a consistency in policies is crucial for institutional strength. Pakistan's start-stop-start decentralisation of services has resulted in confusion and unpredictability. These unstable and inconsistent institutions create major challenges for public servants attempting to negotiate interests among citizens and community groups in order to create shared interests. It is complex exercise to convince citizens to participate when institutions lack predictability and are inconsistent in both policymaking and the enforcement of regulations. Confidence and continuity in policy and practice can be guaranteed through proper



constitutional guarantees. An Asian Development Bank program to improve relations between the government and NGOs concluded that 'There is a need to enact suitable legislation that grasps the ethos of [...] engagement allowing the Government to look upon NGOs as allies, while NGOs engage with Government without expectations of patronage or fear of coercion' (Hasan 2007). Uncertainty and inconsistencies in policies and actions need to be eliminated to maintain public interest and continuity of programs.

Third, civic engagement needs to be enhanced through capacity building and citizenship education. Pakistan's social structure has given rise to a citizenry which is parochial with limited political participation and a blurred concept of national identity (Lall 2012). Efforts to build the social capital can help citizen articulate their demands and participate in developmental processes. Changing cultures, norms and ways of thinking is a very slow process, and one that has to grow in the ground where it is planted, drawing its strength from native soil. Hence, the assistance programs which strengthen local capacity, aimed at disseminating civic education and creating social awareness must be implemented.

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Forth, mutual trust and credibility are the most important elements of productive collaborative processes. There is a dire need to develop confidence between the public and private sector. The distances between the "ruler" and "ruled" need to be abridged. Involvement of bureaucracy in developing civic capacity of masses can help develop trust and in imbuing flexible and adaptable behaviours. These interactions will help citizens understanding of complexity of public problems; political, legal and financial constraints and what the citizens can do help define these problems and solutions within their communities. This can be facilitated by use of technology, that can help in sharing information and improve citizen's accessibility to the government.

Finally, the concentration of decision making in the centre limits citizen participation. In Pakistan problems are exacerbated as there is no true devolution of power to local government level. The 18th Amendment in 2010 devolved functions from federal government to provincial government. However, the *Local Government Acts* developed in 2015 have not given discretion to the local government. This has resulted in increased concentration of administrative power at provincial level which can create inefficiency in public service provision. This increased control



will exacerbate the incapacity of government to really open up to non-state actors as well as citizens. It may even result in greater limitations in private and non-profit sector participation in improving access to public services. This atmosphere where state officials have high distrust and unwillingness to engage private sector and NGOs and where incentives for engaging in partnership are flawed, collaborations have limited ability to address the fundamental challenges. The result is that genuine efforts to forge CGRs are missing despite paying lip service to it.

Pakistan needs a major cultural shift in both the society and the government to achieve richer civic engagement. Collaboration is a two-way process and it can only thrive if the citizens are responsive to overtures of the policy-makers and the government exercises greater commitment, dedication and amicability in its duty towards the people.

#### **4. Conclusion**

Collaborative Governance is a broad concept, making theoretical explication challenging and empirical validation difficult. There has been a lot of emphasis of CGRS in recent past however there it has not been matched by sustained research demonstrating its tangible impact on policy making. In most cases collaborative actions occur in a context which has policy implications yet there are ample variations on how these actions guide policy process. These variations call for studying specific cases and large-scale sample analyses. In this paper I have studied major initiatives of collaborative governance in Pakistan as cases and proposed a framework in the light of my analysis. However, my study lacks empirical validation as the task of tracking the impact of public participation on outcomes requires large data collection which is beyond the scope of this paper. This research presents a critical exploration of various public participation processes and I feel based on the literature cited; the framework is appropriate as an initial means of understanding how collaborative governance regimes operate in the context of Pakistan. It offers an opportunity of further critical application to cases, empirical studies and examples of collaborative governance. Future research will be helpful in clarifying the conditions under which public involving, citizen-centred collaborative governance can be achieved. Lastly, this article is meant to be one contribution to an ongoing debate about the practice of collaborative governance and offers scholars and practitioners one



perspective in the broader research agenda of mapping the terrain for a multitude of models of citizen participation.

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